

FOURTH OF JULY ORATION



SATURDAY, JULY 4, 1914

BY

REV. JAMES A. SUPPLE, D.D.

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in memory of Mr. James Gookin



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Rev. Jas. Supple D.D.

ORATION

RELIGION: THE HOPE OF THE NATION

BY

REV. JAMES A. SUPPLE, D. D.

DELIVERED BEFORE THE CITY GOVERNMENT AND CITIZENS OF BOSTON
IN FANEUIL HALL, ON THE ONE HUNDRED AND THIRTY-EIGHTH
ANNIVERSARY OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE
OF THESE UNITED STATES, JULY 4, 1914



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RELIGION: THE HOPE OF THE NATION.

FOURTH OF JULY ORATION, 1914.

BY REV. JAMES A. SUPPLE, D. D.

Your Honor and Fellow Citizens:

This day, set apart by the government to commemorate the signing of the Declaration of Independence, recalls the principles of justice and liberty upon which this republic was founded when she took her place among the nations of the world to begin her career: a career which seems destined under the Providence of God to rival the grandeur of ancient dynasties and historic empires, if indeed she has not already excelled them in scientific discovery and invention.

The very atmosphere of rejoicing is tempered by the necessity of retrospect regarding those principles which are the corner stones upon which has been reared this temple of self-government, this refuge of all who seek liberty. The resounding of cannon from the armored ships in our harbor, the festive embellishment of our public buildings, the measured tread of our country's defenders lose much of their meaning if we, conscious of our

present power and contented with our satisfying past, do not examine the beginnings and aims of our government. This is the time to apply our keenest methods of scrutiny to discover the course of our Ship of State and to ascertain if the path across the surging years has been in accord with the compass.

This is an occasion when we not only present to the Master of Men and the Protector of Peoples a grateful heart for His many blessings, but with earnest searchings we examine our national conscience to consider how we have fulfilled the trust committed to our care, what account we can give of our stewardship.

One hundred and thirty-eight years have elapsed since the memorable hour when the framers of a new nation signed that singular document known as the Declaration of Independence. We of to-day cannot appreciate the significance of that occasion. What that hour meant to them it is almost impossible for us to estimate. We are too remote from the time to understand the conditions of that day and generation, the difficulties which confronted them, the obstacles that impeded the way to peace and progress; in consequence we cannot adequately value their achievement.

Independence was the dream of years; their message of a free nation to the thirteen colonies was not merely the end of oppression and unjust

taxation. No, it was something more; it was the fulfillment of a hope that had been the source of constant inspiration and encouragement; it was the answer to the prayers of those who had gone before them, the yearnings of an exiled people who had braved the seas to reach these distant shores where they might find on alien soil freedom to worship God and build the future for themselves and their children.

We may read of the pass at Thermopylæ; the legions of imperial Rome may have stamped our memories with indelible impressions of their deeds of war and conquest; the career of Napoleon with its striking manifestation of power and genius we may know by heart, but our appreciation is dull indeed when compared to the sentiments of those who took part in the conflict and were actual participants. They heard the strife of battle; saw the flash of bayonets; looked upon the field of blood covered with the dead and dying. They knew the worth of victory for they witnessed the price paid for it.

The thoughts of those at home, the happiness of the future, the welfare of the nation, all these give to triumph a zest beyond even the keenest imagination. True it is that we weep over the tragedies of the past, our hearts may be torn in anguish by the mere recital of wrongs which nations have endured in times of suffering and persecu-

tion, but our sorrow is a phantom when compared to the calamity of the moment which caused the tragedy and made the time of trial an era of persecution. So must it be with us. We cannot comprehend the full significance of the Declaration of Independence because we have not felt the conditions which stirred the colonies to rebellion and conceived the idea of liberty. It is for us rather, who have received the blessings, to revere and perpetuate the same principles of justice and liberty upon which the nation has been founded and which have accorded her for nearly a century and a half a unique and honored place in the universe.

It was in this same vein that President Lincoln pleaded when, on the battlefield at Gettysburg, his whole being flooded with the emotions of the Civil War, he spoke a thrilling message for the future: "We cannot dedicate, we cannot consecrate, we cannot hallow this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here, have consecrated it, far above our poor power to add or detract. The world will little note nor long remember what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here. It is for us the living, rather, to be dedicated here to the unfinished work which they who fought here have thus far so nobly advanced. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us that from these honored

dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the past full measure of devotion that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain, that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of free sons and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth."

What will save this republic of ours? What will hold this country steadfast to its principles, constant to its traditions amid the vicissitudes of time and the incessant influx of new and strange yet fascinating theories? Surely no human power can stay the ravages of error; no human voice can still the discord of contention; no human law can hold within its sanction the conscience of a nation that welcomes to her shores the children of every habitable quarter of the universe.

Sicut patribus, sit Deus nobis: As He was to our fathers, so may he be to us, our God. Religion is the hope of this nation, the bulwark of its morality, the safeguard of its prosperity, the angel guardian of its very existence.

In spite of certain vague and visionary theories, it still remains a fact that the family is the basis of the nation. Nay, more; the family is not only the foundation of the nation, it is the source, the principle of its vitality. Family life is to a nation what the heart is to the body; it has been aptly described as the second soul of humanity. So

dependent is a nation upon its family life that the advancement or degeneration of the former may be measured by the people's esteem of the latter.

History affords the discerning mind undeniable evidence of the truth of this assertion. The prosperity of the Roman empire fluctuated with the integrity of her family life and even to-day nations are not a little concerned about their own immediate future because of conditions in their family life that are far from moral. Respect for parental authority, obedience and affection in the family are coexistent with national vigor and power. The evident unity of the English nation with her world-wide extent of empire is coincident with a devotion and love for home unequalled by any people of modern Europe. These concomitant prosperities of nation and family are not accidental. There exists between them the relation of cause and effect. The welfare of the nation is the product, the result of the good order of the family and not *vice versa*.

In a nation as well as in the family we need the same laws, the same qualities, the same virtues. The training and education of children, the development of habits and character, the formation of future generations takes place in the bosom of the family. It is the home that sows the seed; the nation reaps the harvest. The nation imposes her duties, her obligations; the family trains the children to accept, to perform them. Men of character

are not made to order; they are the fruits of early and persistent training; they are the products of a real home.

If the family does not make men, the state never will. The lovers of the flag, the defenders of a nation, the patriots of to-day and yesterday are not formed in the barracks or on the battlefield nor aboard the training ship; they are patriots when they leave their mother's embrace and bid farewell to the old home. There their education was begun and there too, as far as solidity is concerned, it was perfected also. It is the Spartan mother and the mother of the Machabees who gives true patriots to a nation.

Patriotism will never fire the heart of people devoid of love for their homes and respect for their families. Patriotism is devotion to that land which we call our own, around which are associated all those memories that men and women hold dearest in life. It brings into play and makes of them the impetus of action and the motive of sacrifice those hallowed ties that have become as it were a part of ourselves. What will military tactics or army maneuvers accomplish for sons trained in a weak, indolent, pleasure-loving family? Men are made of different stuff. Soldiers such as these would prove traitors rather than heroes of the nation of which they formed the army.

Family life without religion is like to the house

built upon the sand. "And the rain fell, and the floods came, and the winds blew, and they beat upon that house, and it fell, and great was the fall thereof." To attempt to erect it upon any other foundation is to trust its stability to the caprices of the heart, the inconstancy of human affection. The heart is the throne of love. It is capable of great things; it is the all-conquering power of the universe. The master paintings of the artist, the most sublime creations of the sculptor, the noblest deeds of the hero—all have been the labor of love. Love stands at the threshold of every human endeavor worthy of being remembered by future generations. The zeal of love will attempt even the impossible, for love knows no fear and is well acquainted with sacrifice.

Yet love is not permanent; the human heart will vacillate. Of its very nature it demands the influence, the guidance, the check of religion.

Family life without religion is a story of strife and sorrow. Even the pagans acknowledged it. They gave religion the place of honor in the family circle. They united their altars and their hearths.

To-day, perhaps because of the greater activity of the apostles of material progress, a discordant note is sounded to disturb this universal harmony; an isolated voice is heard bringing its message of discord and striving to maintain the integrity of the family on a purely natural basis. Listen to

that voice, banish God from your homes; expel the influence of faith, do away with the principles of religion, and what have you left? The heart: yes, the heart with its frailties, its caprices. Love governs the heart but religion must govern love.

Would you have the nuptial couch without honor, children without respect, husband and wife unfaithful to their promise and matrimony itself a mere mercantile contract? Do you want one of the most sacred of human bonds broken at the will of its fickle contractors until divorce stalks the land, your nation becomes polygamous and you have immolated on this sacrilegious altar the happiness of your children, the welfare of the entire country?

“Matrimony is a sacrifice rather than a contract, a crucial test for both man and woman.” Duties must be performed, obstacles overcome, crosses are to be borne. Sacrifice without religion is not easy. It is faith that teaches the merit, the nobility of sacrifice. It pierces the clouds and reveals the hidden God; it offers men and women the road beset with abnegation; it counsels them to proceed without fear, for it teaches them that though the world may know nothing of their sacrifices, there is a just God who, witness to what they bear, will console them in their trials and tribulations.

It is the law of God that safeguards the stability of the family: it is the love of God that strengthens men and women for its burdens.

The home is also the sanctuary of the children, the most important factor in the future of a nation. The child of to-day is the citizen of to-morrow. Responsibilities await him. He is needed to succeed the men and women who built well in their generation and left the legacy of conserving that for which they labored and for which many of them sacrificed their lives.

The task of preservation is a difficult one. It is precisely in days of prosperity that we need be anxious. When the motive of patriotism that springs from a sense of danger is wanting, men and women are not governed by circumstances or environment but the sheer force of moral character.

The training of the child is the making of the man. The traits of childhood developed with care or left to grow at random manifest themselves in later years. They acquire at the same time the strength and persistency which are the natural products of growth. While the lower creation acts through instinct, man is governed by his will and the will because of its innate freedom must be trained along right paths; otherwise disaster lies before it. Let children grow without restraint and the forces of nature will prevail independently of the rights of others and the obligations incumbent on each human being. Man is a creature of habit. Habit is his second nature and in time becomes so predominant that a man's habits determine his char-

acter. All those complex factors that form character are largely due to habits intentionally or unintentionally contracted. The period of training is the early years. Then the mind is more plastic, the will more easily influenced. Later their power of adaptability is lessened and the learning of a new habit implies the breaking of an old one. Many good habits if not acquired in early life are not acquired at all and if so, not so perfectly, while the defects in the adult may be traced and attributed to his first training.

To teach children the ground work of future character, to guide them along the lines of correct habits, religion is indispensable. The law of God is the eternal standard of right and wrong. Without God duty is a word without meaning and obligations have no sanction. The supreme law giver is the vindicator of all authority. "Honor thy father and thy mother" is the ultimate appeal, the tribunal that guarantees the peace and good order of every family.

When the influence of religion is set aside in the education of our youth fads and fancies are substituted in its place. They thrive for awhile and perish. To-day they propose the knowledge of sin. It is not knowledge that we need but virtue. Sex hygiene will not make better men and women but the observance of the ten commandments will.

Silence the name of God in your homes, your

schools and institutions in which your children, the future citizens of the nation, are trained and you may write over their doors what Dante saw written over the gates of hell: "All ye who enter here, leave hope behind."

Well has it been said that if the child is not a lawmaker he will become a lawbreaker and that in the near future. If respect for authority is not inculcated in our youth, then look for rebellion and anarchy. Children will not grow up spontaneously into law-abiding citizens. Obedience to law, reverence for superiors, honesty in public and private life, respect for the rights of others do not spring in human lives like mushrooms in a field over night. These virtues need careful, constant cultivation. Without the help of religion the task will be in vain. Education to-day as always without religion will prove a failure. The court records rarely bear witness to the fact that crimes are committed through lack of education. Rather improper education is responsible for crime, because it has left the consciences of men dead, without God, without religion.

If the family is to be the faithful nursery of a nation, for nursery it is, we must make room for God, that through His teachings children may obey their parents, honor their fathers and mothers, bring into the lives of those with whom they meet the principles of justice, reverence, respect, charity,

which are the foundation of genuine character and the only substantial corner stone upon which the future of a nation can safely rest.

As the integrity of a nation depends upon the morality of its family life, so its material prosperity varies with the condition of the working classes. It is the workingman that produces the nation's wealth, and whether his labor be in the field or on the sea or in the factory, it is his constant, daily toil that makes for the country's greatness. Hence it is that the question of labor is one of the most engaging problems to be solved by any community and never before as in our time has it demanded so much study and attention. It involves the consideration of labor in itself and the relations between employer and employed. Neither can be settled satisfactorily on any other basis than that of religion.

Take God and the consolations of religion out of labor and what does it become? Drudgery. It is described as such in the language of pagan classics. Aristotle calls work illiberal; Plato tells us that the man who worked was frowned upon and considered unworthy of Grecian citizenship; Cicero, spokesman for the Latin people, regards laborers as an inferior class to be treated as slaves. Terence assures us that to gain respect and win the esteem of the populace men must lead a life of leisure, and the satirical pen of Juvenal reveals the chasm be-

tween the rich and poor, the wretchedness and desolation of the laboring classes.

This degraded view of labor still exists in countries where the name of God is never spoken. Work to the Brahmins was a sort of legal contamination, and the Indians of our own country refused to labor. That was menial service relegated to their women whom they regarded as slaves. To-day with all our enlightenment labor is honored in word only. Money is the idol of the moment. Men demean themselves before the rich. They bow before wealth and influence. They look askance at the common laborer whose hands are hardened by honest toil.

Religion alone can dignify the condition of labor. Without it labor is equivalent to the energy of a machine and the mechanic is placed on a par with the machine he operates. What difference is there between them? None, or very little. Both labor for the same result; one works for wages, the other does not. One is an absolute slave, the other a conditional. Is this the only difference between a machine and a man? God forbid.

Labor is inseparable from the man. No employer can hire so much labor as he would buy a machine. Labor is a part of the man and his rights must be considered when we speak of labor. Man does not live to work; he works to live and to live as God created him, a free, intelligent, moral agent and not a slave.

The evil is not in labor nor in the organization of labor. The evil lies in the fact that labor has been paganized. Viewed from this standpoint labor is slavery pure and simple and the laborer must groan under his daily burden like the slave under the master's lash.

The various issues kindred to labor, the living wage, competition, inequality of wealth, poverty, industrial capital, private property, can never be answered without the aid of religion. The whole question is not a purely economic problem; it involves moral rights and principles. Labor is the product of human as well as physical activities. Labor force is the man himself and when we speak of labor the innate rights of the laborer must be respected and given fair play. It is not within the competence of the laborer to renounce or even barter away his rights to life and health, morality and conscience. The employer is bound to hold them sacred and guard them against violation. These are God's gifts to the working man and this is why labor must be treated from the standpoint of religion, for religion declares the immutable standard of justice and gives an appeal to the Court of God Himself, Who has revealed the principles of social right and Christian charity for all men, whatever their condition may be, in their relations with one another.

It is absolutely true, as the Socialist says, that many of our economic evils are due to vicious

organization, absolutely callous to the woes and lamentations of the working classes. While it means liberty to the strong to abuse their strength, in ironic contrast it degrades labor to commercial slavery. The poor must take the terms upon which they are to earn their daily bread or starve. There is no alternative. No less a light than Pope Leo XIII. says practically the same thing: "The preservation of life is the bounden duty of each and all, and to fail therein is a crime. It follows that each one has a right to procure what is required in order to live, and the poor can procure it in no other way than by work and wages. There is a dictate of nature more imperious and more ancient than any bargain between man and man, that the remuneration must be enough to support the wage-earner in reasonable and frugal comfort. If through necessity or fear of a worse evil the workman accepts harder conditions because an employer or contractor will give him no better, he is the victim of force and injustice."

We do not deny the evils which the Socialists emphasize, but the remedies they propose are utterly inadequate. You cannot change conditions unless you control the principles that are responsible for them; you cannot alter principles unless you can reach the consciences that inspire and make them; you cannot stir conscience without the law of God.

It is the fatherhood of God that makes the

brotherhood of man. It is precisely this spirit of fraternal charity coupled with social justice that can meet effectually the present problems of the industrial universe.

Justice is necessary that peace and order may reign in the world but justice is incomplete without charity. A world ruled by justice alone would be unbearable. Justice can lessen the poverty of the world; justice can lessen the suffering of the world but justice can never take the place of charity.

When the relations of justice have been perfectly harmonized — if that can ever be — there still remains the need of another force to guarantee the happiness of the individual and the welfare of society. That wonderful power that stirs men to their best is known under the name of charity.

So it is with the relations between employer and employed. Those relations are properly adjusted by the law of God who made the toiler and the master; before whose tribunal both are amenable; whose law of brotherly love is incumbent upon each; with whom there is no exception of persons; who demands an account of each stewardship.

Employers are bound to treat those who work for a living as fellow-men. They do not belong to a lower order of creation. In everything essential they are equal to those who employ them. They are created by the same God; they are made to the same image and likeness; their souls are as

valuable; they are endowed with the same faculties. Often they stand higher in the moral code than the men who employ them.

Imperfection in education, the lack of social distinction, their position in an inferior station does not deprive men of the right of being considered human beings. If those who hire labor would admit these simple truths not only in theory but in practice, carry them out to their legitimate consequences, much of the sorrowing of the working classes would cease to exist. Men do not rebel against work; it is by work that they live. They understand that well. It is not work that wounds but the unjust, unscrupulous and even inhuman attitude of those for whom they labor.

When men are no longer pitted against each other but look upon one another as brothers; when they realize that work is the means and not the end of living and that those who serve a trade should live by the trade; when the workshop becomes as it were an extension of the household and workmen are regarded as members of the master's family; when both parties work for the common good, with protection on one side and loyal service on the other; in a word, when we have conscience in the industrial world men will hold themselves accountable to the supreme law giver and then and then only may we hope for brighter conditions among the laboring classes.

The laborer has his obligations also. He must give his employer respect, obedience, loyalty. Respect; for in a certain way he is dependent upon his employer for the means of his livelihood. Obedience; the toiler contracts to do a certain work. He is engaged and paid to do not his own will but the will of the employer. Loyalty; the laborer is in a position of trust. Confidence has been put in him. He must not betray it. He has accepted a pledge. He must keep it.

To give the minimum of brain and brawn in return for wages is absolutely wrong and against all justice. The obligations of the workingman are just as stringent and bind him as sacredly as those of his employer. There can be no toleration of the unscrupulous, deceitful laborer. Not only must we condemn the designing demagogue who goes about fomenting disturbance and rousing the working classes to evil courses which will never serve their true interests but we must denounce as well the laborer who in receipt of fair wages scamps his work, wastes time, shirks duty except under supervision, injures his employer's machinery and materials, makes unreasonable demands, or who strikes needlessly and without proper warning or has recourse to violence in striving to redress his rights.

The prosperity of the nation upon which the happiness of the entire people depends is the product of two forces, labor and capital. When these two

forces work harmoniously together instead of opposing each other, peace and order are assured in the industrial world. Each performs a necessary function and is indispensable to the other. Neither is the enemy nor the servant of the other, but both capital and labor have reciprocal duties, and on the faithful discharge of these duties the welfare of the nation depends.

Labor and capital reach the ideal in the scales of justice and charity when they harken to the word of God, Who sets the standard for the employer and employed. To the latter he says: "Be obedient to them that are your masters in the simplicity of your hearts as to Christ, not serving to the eye as it were pleasing men, but as the servants of Christ, doing the will of God from the heart, knowing that whatsoever good thing man shall do, the same shall he receive from the Lord"; and to the employer: "And you, masters, do the same things to them, forbearing to threaten, knowing that the Lord both of them and of you is in Heaven, and there is no respect of persons with Him."

These in a few words are the obligations of the employer and employed. If accepted and carried out conditions will be as nearly ideal as we can hope to make them. Religion is the leaven of social regeneration. The law of God becomes the standard of right and wrong; the consciences of men are governed by its benign and salutary teaching;

the pagan idea of convenience and self-interest is relegated to the age to which it belongs, when men were regarded as slaves and work looked upon as drudgery.

As the welfare of a nation depends upon the integrity of its family life and the condition of its labor, and these in turn upon the influence of religion, the peace of a republic is assured by its acknowledgment of a supreme Being and its due regard for His eternal laws. Nations fall into ruin once they have forsaken their faith in God. Then vice has no restraint, virtue no reward. The world becomes a theater and life a stage of sin and sorrow. When France was drenched with human blood Figuiet declared it was not petroleum but materialism that destroyed her.

And so it must be. Without God there is neither law nor order. All is chaos. What upholds the authority of a nation, the dignity of its magistrates? God's sanction. Do away with that sanction and laws are valueless and magistrates powerless.

God is the origin of right and duty. Exclude Him and the very notion, as Pope Leo says, of what is right and good will perish. We have no rights except what we have received from God and there is no authority but His to vindicate them. The rights of men are inseparable from those of God. Sever the tie that binds them and human rights are no longer facts but chimeras.

When the name of God is without fear, right gives way to force, slavery, despotism. "What we take from the sovereignty of God we add to that of the despot."

The city of Cambridge did a lasting service not alone to herself but to the entire nation when she carved over the portals of city hall: "God has given ten commandments to men. From these commandments men have framed laws by which to be governed."

When we pretend to build a nation on the foundation stones of reason and morality without God or religion; when professors teach that prime and final causes are nothing more or less than the abstractions of idealists and philosophers; and that even supposing that there be a God, He does not concern Himself about us, and man in consequence is irresponsible in his actions and morals; when the leaders of a people play fast and loose with the fundamental principles of right and wrong; when the public conscience is deprived of guidance, peace and order will be sought in vain.

To make a nation, gold is not enough. The altar was and the altar always will be the corner stone of any nation that is to endure. To look upon religion as an intruder in civil matters, to seek to relegate its influence to matters purely personal or ecclesiastic; to refuse it a forum in politics, business,

education, economics and the manifold relations of men with one another, is to assume that God has abandoned men in their mutual relations although the most vital interests of the human race depend upon them.

The assumption cannot be proved. God has not only created individuals; He is the author of their mutual relations also. He has so formed human society that men's acts have not merely an individual but a social character. He has multiplied the points of contact, as it were, between the individuals that make society. He has surrounded each one of us with a network of influences, rights, duties. He has placed between Himself and each individual a host of others, so that we reach God by acts that affect others as much as by personal sanctity.

The relations and activities of social life not less than those of private life are dominated by moral laws. They who teach the people to adore no God but gold, to recognize no laws but those of self-interest, are the real enemies of a republic though they are not always publicly so regarded nor dragged before the courts of justice to be sentenced.

Justice and virtue are the necessary conditions of genuine progress. When religion has lost its hold upon a people's heart, virtue will lie buried

under the ruins of truth. It is impossible to act well when one believes and loves ill. Withdraw the light of faith from the public conscience, the family is humbled to the dust; obedience is shame; property is disputed; sacrifice and abnegation are driven out by egotism and idleness; pleasure and convenience become the standard of living; naturalism is the apology for vice; photography, lithography and journalism make friends with scandal; virtue is sold as a mere commodity and we have wholesale traffic in the honor of the nation.

The need of the present generation is men of faith, men of religion. As long as there are such, we need never fear for the future of the republic. It is related that when the last hero of Poland fell on the battlefield he cried, "The end of Poland." So also when the fires of faith are no longer kindled at our hearths, when among our people those who believe in the justice of a God who rewards and punishes are deprived of that belief through the insidious doctrines of materialism; when the name of God is no longer held in reverence by our nation, we may take up the cry and exclaim, "The end of America."

But that day, please God, shall never be. This nation has been blessed too bountifully by Him to forget its benefactor. Our public men have uttered His sacred name with honor; they have counted upon His help to work out the future of the nation.

“An appeal to arms and to the God of Hosts is all that is left us. They tell us, sir, that we are weak — unable to cope with so formidable an adversary. But when shall we be stronger? Will it be the next week or the next year? Will it be when we are totally disarmed, and when a British guard shall be stationed in every house? Shall we gather strength by irresolution and inaction? Shall we acquire the means of effectual resistance by lying supinely on our backs and hugging the delusive phantom of Hope, until our enemies shall have bound us hand and foot? Sir, we are not weak, if we make a proper use of those means which the God of nature has placed in our power. Three millions of people armed in the holy cause of liberty, and in such a country as that which we possess, are invincible by any force which our enemy can send against us. Besides, sir, we shall not fight our battles alone. There is a just God who presides over the destinies of nations and who raise up friends to fight our battles for us.”

The first president of our great republic said:

“Of all the dispositions and habits which lead to political prosperity, religion and morality are indispensable supports. In vain would that man claim the tribute of patriotism who would labor to subvert these great pillars of human happiness, these firmest props of the duties of men and citizens. The mere politician equally with the pious man ought to

respect and cherish them. A volume could not trace all their connections with private and public felicity. Let it simply be asked, where is the security for property, for reputation, for life, if the sense of religious obligation desert the oaths which are the instruments of investigation in courts of justice? And let us with caution indulge the supposition that morality can be maintained without religion. Whatever may be conceded to the influence of refined education on minds of peculiar structure, reason and experience both forbid us to expect that national morality can prevail in exclusion of religious principle."

The words of Washington in his farewell address may be linked with those of Wilson in his inaugural: "God helping me, with the aid of all good and patriotic men to counsel me, I shall not fear of success for the future."

Give God His rightful place in the nation. Call Him by His proper name — God. Away with those seductive titles of Nature and Science by which a mistaken age would hide His identity and over whose temple it would carve as the Athenians of old: "To the unknown God."

Give God an honored place in the family; let Him enter the industrial, commercial, social and political life of our people; do not relegate Him to the church, the altar, the pulpit, and then the

dream of those who framed the Declaration of Independence will be realized; the words of the inspired Psalmist will find a counterpart in our beloved country: there is no other nation like to ours, and the reason of it will be because no other nation has its gods so near to it as our God is to us.

A LIST
OF
BOSTON MUNICIPAL ORATORS.

By C. W. ERNST.

BOSTON ORATORS

APPOINTED BY THE MUNICIPAL AUTHORITIES.

For the Anniversary of the Boston Massacre, March 5, 1770.

NOTE. — The Fifth-of-March orations were published in handsome quarto editions, now very scarce; also collected in book form in 1785, and again in 1807. The oration of 1776 was delivered in Watertown.

- 1771. — LOVELL, JAMES.
 - 1772. — WARREN, JOSEPH.^a
 - 1773. — CHURCH, BENJAMIN.^b
 - 1774. — HANCOCK, JOHN.^{a, 2}
 - 1775. — WARREN, JOSEPH.
 - 1776. — THACHER, PETER.
 - 1777. — HICHBORN, BENJAMIN.
 - 1778. — AUSTIN, JONATHAN WILLIAMS.
 - 1779. — TUDOR, WILLIAM.
 - 1780. — MASON, JONATHAN, JUN.
 - 1781. — DAWES, THOMAS, JUN.
 - 1782. — MINOT, GEORGE RICHARDS.
 - 1783. — WELSH, THOMAS.
-

For the Anniversary of National Independence, July 4, 1776.

NOTE. — A collected edition, or a full collection, of these orations has not been made. For the names of the orators, as officially printed on the title pages of the orations, see the Municipal Register of 1890.

- 1783. — WARREN, JOHN.¹
 - 1784. — HICHBORN, BENJAMIN.
 - 1785. — GARDNER, JOHN.
-

^a Reprinted in Newport, R. I., 1774, 8vo., 19 pp.

^b A third edition was published in 1773.

¹ Reprinted in Warren's Life. The orations of 1783 to 1786 were published in large quarto; the oration of 1787 appeared in octavo; the oration of 1788 was printed in small quarto; all succeeding orations appeared in octavo, with the exceptions stated under 1863 and 1876.

1786. — AUSTIN, JONATHAN LORING.
1787. — DAWES, THOMAS, JUN.
1788. — OTIS, HARRISON GRAY.
1789. — STILLMAN, SAMUEL.
1790. — GRAY, EDWARD.
1791. — CRAFTS, THOMAS, JUN.
1792. — BLAKE, JOSEPH, JUN.²
1793. — ADAMS, JOHN QUINCY.²
1794. — PHILLIPS, JOHN.
1795. — BLAKE, GEORGE.
1796. — LATHROP, JOHN, JUN.
1797. — CALLENDER, JOHN.
1798. — QUINCY, JOSIAH.^{2, 3}
1799. — LOWELL, JOHN, JUN.²
1800. — HALL, JOSEPH.
1801. — PAINE, CHARLES.
1802. — EMERSON, WILLIAM.
1803. — SULLIVAN, WILLIAM.
1804. — DANFORTH, THOMAS.²
1805. — DUTTON, WARREN.
1806. — CHANNING, FRANCIS DANA.⁴
1807. — THACHER, PETER.^{2, 5}
1808. — RITCHIE, ANDREW, JUN.²
1809. — TUDOR, WILLIAM, JUN.²
1810. — TOWNSEND, ALEXANDER.
1811. — SAVAGE, JAMES.²
1812. — POLLARD, BENJAMIN.⁴
1813. — LIVERMORE, EDWARD ST. LOE.

² Passed to a second edition.

³ Delivered another oration in 1826. Quincy's oration of 1798 was reprinted, also, in Philadelphia.

⁴ Not printed.

⁵ On February 26, 1811, Peter Thacher's name was changed to Peter Oxenbridge Thacher. (List of Persons whose Names have been Changed in Massachusetts, 1780-1892, p. 21.)

1814. — WHITWELL, BENJAMIN.
 1815. — SHAW, LEMUEL.
 1816. — SULLIVAN, GEORGE.²
 1817. — CHANNING, EDWARD TYRREL.
 1818. — GRAY, FRANCIS CALLEY.
 1819. — DEXTER, FRANKLIN.
 1820. — LYMAN, THEODORE, JUN.
 1821. — LORING, CHARLES GREELY.²
 1822. — GRAY, JOHN CHIPMAN.
 1823. — CURTIS, CHARLES PELHAM.²
 1824. — BASSETT, FRANCIS.
 1825. — SPRAGUE, CHARLES.⁶
 1826. — QUINCY, JOSIAH.⁷
 1827. — MASON, WILLIAM POWELL.
 1828. — SUMNER, BRADFORD.
 1829. — AUSTIN, JAMES TRECOTHICK.
 1830. — EVERETT, ALEXANDER HILL.
 1831. — PALFREY, JOHN GORHAM.
 1832. — QUINCY, JOSIAH, JUN.
 1833. — PRESCOTT, EDWARD GOLDSBOROUGH.
 1834. — FAY, RICHARD SULLIVAN.
 1835. — HILLARD, GEORGE STILLMAN.
 1836. — KINSMAN, HENRY WILLIS.
 1837. — CHAPMAN, JONATHAN.
 1838. — WINSLOW, HUBBARD. "The Means of the Perpetuity and Prosperity of our Republic."
 1839. — AUSTIN, IVERS JAMES.
 1840. — POWER, THOMAS.
 1841. — CURTIS, GEORGE TICKNOR.⁸ "The True Uses of American Revolutionary History."⁸
 1842. — MANN, HORACE.⁹

⁶ Six editions up to 1831. Reprinted also in his *Life and Letters*.

⁷ Reprinted in his *Municipal History of Boston*. See 1798.

⁸ Delivered another oration in 1862.

⁹ There are five or more editions; only one by the City.

1843. — ADAMS, CHARLES FRANCIS.
1844. — CHANDLER, PELEG WHITMAN. "The Morals of Freedom."
1845. — SUMNER, CHARLES.¹⁰ "The True Grandeur of Nations."
1846. — WEBSTER, FLETCHER.
1847. — CARY, THOMAS GREAVES.
1848. — GILES, JOEL. "Practical Liberty."
1849. — GREENOUGH, WILLIAM WHITWELL. "The Conquering Republic."
1850. — WHIPPLE, EDWIN PERCY.¹¹ "Washington and the Principles of the Revolution."
1851. — RUSSELL, CHARLES THEODORE.
1852. — KING, THOMAS STARR.¹² "The Organization of Liberty on the Western Continent."¹²
1853. — BIGELOW, TIMOTHY.¹³
1854. — STONE, ANDREW LEETE.² "The Struggles of American History."
1855. — MINER, ALONZO AMES.
1856. — PARKER, EDWARD GRIFFIN. "The Lesson of '76 to the Men of '56."
1857. — ALGER, WILLIAM ROUNSEVILLE.¹⁴ "The Genius and Posture of America."
1858. — HOLMES, JOHN SOMERS.²
1859. — SUMNER, GEORGE.¹⁵
1860. — EVERETT, EDWARD.
1861. — PARSONS, THEOPHILUS.
1862. — CURTIS, GEORGE TICKNOR.⁸
1863. — HOLMES, OLIVER WENDELL.¹⁶
1864. — RUSSELL, THOMAS.

¹⁰ Passed through three editions in Boston and one in London, and was answered in a pamphlet, Remarks upon an Oration delivered by Charles Sumner . . . July 4th, 1845. By a Citizen of Boston. See Memoir and Letters of Charles Sumner, by Edward L. Pierce, vol. ii. 337-384.

¹¹ There is a second edition. (Boston: Ticknor, Reed & Fields. 1850. 49 pp. 12°.)

¹² First published by the City in 1892.

¹³ This and a number of the succeeding orations, up to 1861, contain the speeches, toasts, etc., of the City dinner usually given in Faneuil Hall on the Fourth of July.

- 1865.--MANNING, JACOB MERRILL. "Peace under Liberty."²
- 1866.—LOTHROP, SAMUEL KIRKLAND.
- 1867.—HEPWORTH, GEORGE HUGHES.
- 1868.—ELIOT, SAMUEL. "The Functions of a City."
- 1869.—MORTON, ELLIS WESLEY.
- 1870.—EVERETT, WILLIAM.
- 1871.—SARGENT, HORACE BINNEY.
- 1872.—ADAMS, CHARLES FRANCIS, JUN.
- 1873.—WARE, JOHN FOTHERGILL WATERHOUSE.
- 1874.—FROTHINGHAM, RICHARD.
- 1875.—CLARKE, JAMES FREEMAN. "Worth of Republican Institutions."
- 1876.—WINTHROP, ROBERT CHARLES.¹⁷
- 1877.—WARREN, WILLIAM WIRT.
- 1878.—HEALY, JOSEPH.
- 1879.—LODGE, HENRY CABOT.
- 1880.—SMITH, ROBERT DICKSON.¹⁸
- 1881.—WARREN, GEORGE WASHINGTON. "Our Republic—Liberty and Equality Founded on Law."
- 1882.—LONG, JOHN DAVIS.
- 1883.—CARPENTER, HENRY BERNARD. "American Character and Influence."
- 1884.—SHEPARD, HARVEY NEWTON.
- 1885.—GARGAN, THOMAS JOHN.

¹⁴ Probably four editions were printed in 1857. (Boston: Office Boston Daily Bee, 80 pp.) Not until November 22, 1864, was Mr. Alger asked by the City to furnish a copy for publication. He granted the request, and the first official edition (J. E. Farwell & Co., 1864, 53 pp.) was then issued. It lacks the interesting preface and appendix of the early editions.

¹⁵ There is another edition. (Boston: Ticknor & Fields, 1859, 69 pp.) A third (Boston: Rockwell & Churchill, 1882, 46 pp.) omits the dinner at Faneuil Hall, the correspondence and events of the celebration.

¹⁶ There is a preliminary edition of twelve copies. (J. E. Farwell & Co., 1863. (7), 71 pp.) It is "the first draft of the author's address, turned into larger, legible type, for the sole purpose of rendering easier its public delivery." It was done by "the liberality of the City Authorities," and is, typographically, the handsomest of these orations. This resulted in the large-paper 75-page edition, printed from the same type as the 71-page edition, but modified by the author. It is printed "by order of the Common Council." The regular edition is in 60 pp., octavo size.

1886. — WILLIAMS, GEORGE FREDERICK.
1887. — FITZGERALD, JOHN EDWARD.
1888. — DILLAWAY, WILLIAM EDWARD LOVELL.
1889. — SWIFT, JOHN LINDSAY.¹⁹ "The American Citizen."
1890. — PILLSBURY, ALBERT ENOCH. "Public Spirit."
1891. — QUINCY, JOSIAH.²⁰ "The Coming Peace."
1892. — MURPHY, JOHN ROBERT.
1893. — PUTNAM, HENRY WARE. "The Mission of Our People."
1894. — O'NEIL, JOSEPH HENRY.
1895. — BERLE, ADOLPH AUGUSTUS. "The Constitution and the Citizen."
1896. — FITZGERALD, JOHN FRANCIS.
1897. — HALE, EDWARD EVERETT. "The Contribution of Boston to American Independence."
1898. — O'CALLAGHAN, REV. DENIS.
1899. — MATTHEWS, NATHAN, JR. "Be Not Afraid of Greatness."
1900. — O'MEARA, STEPHEN. "Progress Through Conflict."
1901. — GUILD, CURTIS, JR. "Supremacy and its Conditions."
1902. — CONRY, JOSEPH A.
1903. — MEAD, EDWIN D. "The Principles of the Founders."
1904. — SULLIVAN, JOHN A. "Boston's Past and Present. What Will Its Future Be?"

¹⁷ There is a large paper edition of fifty copies printed from this type, and also an edition from the press of John Wilson & Son, 1876. 55 pp. 8°.

¹⁸ On Samuel Adams, a statue of whom, by Miss Anne Whitney, had just been completed for the City. A photograph of the statue is added.

¹⁹ Contains a bibliography of Boston Fourth of July orations, from 1783 to 1889, inclusive, compiled by Lindsay Swift, of the Boston Public Library.

²⁰ Reprinted by the American Peace Society.

- 1905.—COLT, LE BARON BRADFORD. "America's Solution of the Problem of Government."
- 1906.—COAKLEY, TIMOTHY WILFRED. "The American Race: Its Origin, the Fusion of Peoples; Its Aim, Fraternity."
- 1907.—HORTON, REV. EDWARD A. "Patriotism and the Republic."
- 1908.—HILL, ARTHUR DEHON. "The Revolution and a Problem of the Present."
- 1909.—SPRING, ARTHUR LANGDON. "The Growth of Patriotism."
- 1910.—WOLFF, JAMES HARRIS. "The Building of the Republic."
- 1911.—ELIOT, CHARLES W. "The Independence of 1776 and the Dependence of 1911."
- 1912.—PELLETIER, JOSEPH C. "Respect for the Law."
- 1913.—MACFARLAND, GRENVILLE S. "A New Declaration of Independence."
- 1914.—SUPPLE, REV. JAMES A. "Religion: The Hope of the Nation."

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